1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
SA15 Mosquito SA15

The Miskito readily intermarry with foreigners. They assimilate all races; the children always speak the language of the mother and grow up as Miskito, whether the father be "Creole," "Ladino," Carib, Negro, Sumu, Rama, Paya, North American, European, Syrian, or Chinaman. The villages between Wounta and Rio Hueso show this phenomenon to perfection. (Heath, a: 50.) Consequently the pure Indian tribes, as the Sumu, Paya, and Rama, are rapidly diminishing in numbers, whereas the Miskito, owing to the influx of fresh blood, are holding their own.

In spite of the fact that the Miskito have been since the seventeenth century in contact with buccaneers, British traders, and settlers, mahogany cutters, rubber bleeders, and Moravian missionaries, they have not changed considerably in their mode of life. Their tribal name appears first in the works of the piratical sea rovers, the English calling them generally "Moskite" and "Moskito," and the French "Moustique" and "Moustiquais."

Exquemelin (Engl. ed.: 250; French ed.: II, 264–265) calculates the number of the Miskito at about 1,500 to 1,700, including 200 Negro slaves. In those days they were divided into two subtribes having but little relation with each other. One of them lived at Cabo Gracias a Dios, the other at Moustique (=Sandy Bay?). The Indians from this latter place occasionally accompanied the buccaneer vessels, the others being less courageous on the sea. Dampier states, however, that the whole tribes comprised less than 100 men (Dampier: I, 7). Raveneau de Lussan (437–438), who writes about the same time, says that the Miskito of Cabo Gracias a Dios and lower Rio Coco were largely mixed with Negroes, while those at Sandy Bay were still pure Indians. In 1699 the Miskito occupied the seacoast from Cabo Camarón in Honduras to about 57 miles south of Brangmans River (=Wawa River?), where the territory of the Sumu began. The coast line of their territory had an extension of about 285 miles; they had, besides, two settlements on the lower Rio Coco (M. W.: 299). From the details given by the latter author the total population of this tribe numbered close to 1,000. In 1725 the Miskito numbered about 2,000 men altogether and were ruled by three chiefs (Lads). Bell (a: 250), who lived many years in the country, estimated the total Indian population of that territory at about 10,000 to 15,000, of which the Miskito numbered nearly one-half. The present writer calculates the total number of this tribe at about 15,000, of which at least one-third live on both banks of Rio Coco as far up as Rio Bocay, that is, 275 to 300 miles from the sea. In the Republic of Honduras, from Rio Coco to Rio Tinto, may be found from 3,000 to 4,000 Miskito, who inhabit the seashore and lagoons as well as the lower Rio Patuca. The remainder of this tribe lives in Nicaragua, from Rio Coco to Pearl Lagoon.

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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In spite of the distribution of the Miskito over so vast a territory, the dialectical variations of their language are comparatively insignificant. Five dialects have been observed by the writer (vide Conzemius, d: 59–64). A small part of the Miskito has kept aloof from admixture with the Negro; these are called *Tāwira* "Heavy-haired."[2] Lehmann (c: I, 105, 107, 464) attempts to connect the ancient Chuchures of Panama with the Miskito, but this theory is barely acceptable. These Chuchures are said to have arrived in canoes from Honduras, and they settled in the neighborhood of Nombre de Dios. But their number gradually declined owing to disease and they finally disappeared altogether.

Many corrupted English words have passed into the speech of the Miskito, while words borrowed from Spanish are much less common. In certain regions, especially on the upper Rio Coco, a large number of Sumu words have been incorporated in the language.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE SUMU

Inland from the Miskito, from Rio Patuca to Rio Punta Gorda, live the more primitive Sumu, who speak a related language. They inhabit chiefly the headwaters of the larger rivers or the affluents thereof. Owing to close intermarriage and lack of hygienic living conditions they are rapidly diminishing in numbers, and the day of their complete disappearance or absorption by the Miskito does not seem far off. Their total number is estimated at about 3,000 to 3,500.

The Sumu are split into different subtribes speaking various dialects which are almost mutually intelligible. These are known by the names *Twahka*, *Ulwa*, *Panamaka*, *Bawihka*, and *Kukra* (vide Conzemius, d: 64–73). The three first named of these subtribes number about 1,000 each, the Bawihka not more than 150, while the Kukra are practically extinct.

The Twahka inhabit the northern section of the Sumu territory and are found on the rivers Patuca (Guampú), Coco (Lakus and lower Waspuk), Wawa and Kukallaya. The Panamaka live on Rio Coco (Bocay and upper Waspuk) and on Rio Prinsapolca, while

[2] For the pronunciation of the Indian words the following phonetic system has been used:
a, e, i, o, u, correspond to the sounds of these vowels in German or Spanish.
ai as ai in "aisle."
au as ow in "how."
oi as oi in "boil."
ñ as ng in "sing."
x as Spanish j or German ch in "ach" or Scotch ch in "loch."
y is always a consonant.
Nasalization of vowels is indicated by the tilde (~) as in Portuguese.
All the other letters have approximately the same value as in English.

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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the Ulwa inhabit the southern section of the territory in consideration, from Rio Grande to Rio Punta Gorda. 101 131

The Bawihka are limited to Rio Banbana, a large northern affluent of the lower Prinsapolca. The Miskito call them generally *Sumu-sirpi* "small Sumu" or by the misleading name *Twahka*, but among all the Sumu they are known as "Bawihka." This latter name is not mentioned by Lehmann, the latest investigator into the languages of Central America. The Bawihka were formerly also found on the Wawa and Kukallaya, but they were expelled from these regions by the Twahka, and then settled on Rio Banbana. Most of them are living at the village Wasakin (*was-sa-kin*), "Rocks of the black water."

The Kukra formerly occupied the coast and shores of the lagoons from Rio Grande to the southern extremity of Bluefields Lagoon. They have always refused all intercourse with the Miskito and the foreigners, but occasionally communicated with the neighboring Ulwa for trading purposes. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century some rubber cutters ventured into their territory, and at Kukra Hill, northwest of Bluefields, they captured a few Indians who wore nothing but a loincloth of white tunu and a collar of shells and animal teeth. They were taken to Bluefields, but died soon afterwards. After this incursion into their country the remaining Indians went inland to the Rio Siquia, where they apparently became absorbed by their kindred, the Ulwa. At Pearl Lagoon may be met a few Miskito who are mixed with Kukra.

Other Sumu subtribes, which are already extinct now, are the *Yusku* (*Yosko*), *Prinsu*, *Boa*, *Silam*, and *Ku*. The Yusku lived on the rivers Tuma and Bocay; they are said to have been very bad and were exterminated by the other Sumu in the course of prolonged wars. The Prinsu lived on Rio Prinsapolca, which owes its name to them. They intermarried with the Miskito and the offspring became known as *Twila* or *Tongula* who formed a separate tribe speaking a corrupted Miskito but retained many Sumu customs. The Boa lived on the headwaters of Rio Grande, while the Silam and Ku lived along the Waspuk River.

The Spanish historians of the sixteenth century included the Sumu under the general term "Chontal" or "Chondal," a Mexican word which means merely "stranger," "foreigner," and was applied by the Nahuatl to any primitive tribe. In later documents the Sumu are mentioned as "Caribes," "Chatos," "Albatuinas" (from the Miskito *Albawina*) and by a number of other names. To-day the whole group is generally known by the Miskito designations "Sumu" or "Smu," which have already been used by Bell and Wickham. Some writers have mentioned the whole group under the names Twahka and Ulwa, which, properly speaking, should be 101

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
SA15 Mosquito SA15

restricted to two subtribes thereof. Lehmann's classification of the Sumu tribes is likewise unsatisfactory. With the word "Sumu" we have a convenient name for the whole of these various dialects; its use will avoid the sad confusion met with still in the recent literature.

All the male Sumu either know Miskito or Spanish (or even both), depending upon their proximity to Miskito or Ladino settlements. A few of them know a little English. Hardly any of the women are, however, able to speak a foreign tongue. Through Miskito many corrupted English words have passed into their speech, while words borrowed from Spanish are not so common.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE MISKITO AND SUMU

The relationship of the Miskito with the Sumu has already been established from linguistic evidence (Lehmann, b: 714–720) and is reenforced by a survey of the ethnology of the two tribes. In this connection the following Sumu tradition, which points toward a common origin, will be interesting. It was recorded in 1904 at *Alami-kanban* (Rio Prinsapolca) from a Sumu named Frederick, by the Rev. G. R. Heath, a Moravian missionary, who resided many years on the Mosquito Coast. The latter communicated it to Lehmann, who published it in 1910 (b: 717–718). This version was later reproduced by Joyce (9–10) and by Alexander (185–186):

> At Kaunapa Hill, on the left bank of Rio Patuca, a few miles below the mouth of Rio Guampú, there is a rock bearing the sign of a human umbilical cord, and from which were born the tribal ancestors, a Great Father (*Mól-sakana* "he who begot us")[3] and a Great Mother (*Itwana* or *Iiski*).[4] The Miskito and the Sumu are the descendants of these two primal ancestors.
>
> The first born were the Miskito who, disobedient and headstrong, as they are still to-day, cared little for the instructions of their ancestors and ran away to the seacoast.
>
> Then the Twahka or Tawahka were born, who consider themselves to this day the nobility among the Sumu.[5]
>
> Then followed the Yusku, who turned to evil ways; for that reason the other tribes made war upon them and almost exterminated them.
>
> The youngest, the Ulwa, being according to the Indian custom the favorites, profited to such an extent by the instructions of the tribal ancestors that they became especially skilled in the secrets of medicine and incantation and won the name of *Boa*, "enchanters."[6]

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[3] *Wan-bikan* in the Miskito language.

[4] *Yapti-misri*, "Mother Scorpion," or *Yapti-tara*, "Great Mother," in the language of the Miskito.

[5] In Miskito the word *tawakya* means, however, "firstborn" and the parents thus call their first child.

[6] Lehmann (b: 717) says erroneously "Singers," and this error is copied by Joyce (10) and Alexander (185–186). According to my own informants the Boa were a subtribe of the Sumu differing from the Ulwa.

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
SA15 Mosquito SA15

Meanwhile the Twahka lived in the bush. They were wild and unkempt; their hair fell to their knees and they were full of lice. Finally the King of the Miskito sent for them and captured them; he had them washed and altogether regenerated them, so that he won their love and obtained their support.[7]

The language of the Miskito is closely allied to that of the Sumu, but it also contains many foreign words. It is very probable that the Miskito were originally a subtribe of the Sumu, and that they have become greatly modified in the course of the centuries through intermarriage with Negroes, Europeans, and other Indian tribes. Already in 1875, at a time when the relationship of the Miskito and Sumu languages was still unknown, Zúñiga Echenique (209) considered the Miskito as the offspring of fugitive slaves with Twahka women. Of the various Sumu subtribes still existing, the Bawihka is the one which linguistically and ethnographically presents the greatest affinity to the Miskito. The Bawihka formerly occupied the region immediately adjoining the coast line where the Miskito were met with by the first Europeans during the latter part of the seventeenth century. These facts induce me to believe that the hybrid tribe of the Miskito owes its origin to the intermarriage of the Bawihka with the Negroes escaped from the slave ship which was wrecked to the south of Cabo Gracias a Dios in 1641.

These Africans arrived on a Portuguese slave ship captained by Lourenço Gramalxo. The vessel had taken its black cargo on board while anchoring at the Guinea Coast, and then headed for Brazil. While on the high seas the Negroes revolted and made themselves masters of the ship. Not knowing anything about the art of navigation they allowed their vessel to be carried by the trade wind and ocean currents toward the coast of Central America, where it became wrecked on the Mosquito Keys, situated a little south of Cabo Gracias a Dios. The Negroes, who were able to reach the mainland, were captured by the Indians and reduced to slavery. They were, however, allowed to intermarry with their masters, and their children grew up as free members of the tribe. (Vide Peralta, b: 57–58, 121; Exquemelin, French ed.: II, 276–277; Edwards: V, 210; M. W.: 303, 307.)

Henderson (216) states, however, that these Africans proceeded from the Samba country in West Africa and that their vessel was Dutch. This is repeated by Roberts (153), Young (71–72) and De Kalb (27). The last named author further specifies that the vessel in question was wrecked in 1650 and that the Africans proceeded from Samba Island at the mouth of the Cassiri River in Senegambia. Bell (b: 3) likewise considered the vessel as Dutch and says that it was wrecked near Dakuna at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This date is, however, incorrect.

[7] The addition regarding the Miskito King is of recent date. No mention is made of the other Sumu subtribes, as the Panamaka, Bawihka, or Kukra.

2: Kirchhoff E-4 (no date) 1948
SA15 Mosquito SA15
Garif SA12

THE CARIBBEAN LOWLAND TRIBES: THE MOSQUITO, SUMO, PAYA, AND JICAQUE

By PAUL KIRCHHOFF

INTRODUCTION

The modern *Paya* and *Jicaque* enclaves in the Caribbean Lowlands may not all be the descendants of the people so named by the first explorers (maps 2 and 5). It is possible that the culture of the people first discovered on the coast was similar to that from which the present-day *Mosquito* and *Sumo* culture has evolved, although the north coast probably had culture traits that differed significantly from those of the *Mosquito* and *Sumo*. It is impossible to describe the post-Conquest changes of the culture of the *Paya* and *Jicaque*. It seems reasonably certain, however, that during the past 400 years the east coast people and the people now known as the *Paya* and *Jicaque* have converged culturally. We can, then, describe these peoples as a unit, although hypothetically their cultures have developed out of the ruins of a more complex aboriginal background.

Less important but significant features of the culture may be ascribed to the contact with the *Black Carib* Indians, who were brought to the Bay Islands in 1796 and whose descendants have settled on the mainland. The importance of the early Negro influence has already been noted.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—A type of slash-and-burn agriculture is employed by all tribes. Every season the men clear new farmlands and burn the slash. Planting and cultivating is done with a digging stick. This is woman's work, except among the *Jicaque* (Von Hagen, 1943), and the women also harvest the crops. Some fields have combinations of crops, such as maize, beans, and peanuts; others are reserved for single crops, especially the tubers.

A list of agricultural products may be found below. Sweet manioc, an important *Mosquito* crop, is grown by all tribes. Bitter manioc, probably introduced by the *Carib*, is important to some *Paya* and *Jicaque*.

3: Pijoan D-5 (ca. 1945) 1946
SA15 Mosquito SA15

262 ralization can be directly applied to diets in the tropics: the galaxy of
177 nutritional factors are determined by the local situation and the food habits of the people.

164 The same can be said of tropical infectious disease. The variety of vectors, their ecological relations to circumstances determined by altitude, rains, swamps, climate and vegetation limit disease entities to special regions even though many diseases occur throughout the world. It must be remembered that to the diseases generally present among people are added those which are peculiar to a new environment and that modifications of a disease can take place. For instance, whooping cough is a serious disease attended with a high mortality rate in Central Nicaragua, whereas scarlet fever produces a mild disease often unrecognized. Whether the host or the organism is responsible for such a condition is not known and the problem of host and parasite interrelationships becomes a complex one.

THE MOSQUITO AREA: THE LOCAL SITUATION

●101 The vast region on the Atlantic side of Nicaragua and Honduras is known by the name of Mosquito coast. It is inhabited buy four different tribes of Indians: The Miskito, the Suma (Sumu), the Paya, and the Rama. In some localities the Miskito, often incorrectly called [144] Mosquito, have a considerable admixture of Negro blood and, for this reason, are in some places called Zambos. The other three tribes, however, are practically of pure Indian blood. In earlier times, the 101 western region of the Mosquito coast was occupied by the Matagalpa 197 Indians, whose language extended over a large area in Nicaragua and Honduras, but has been extinct for nearly half a century. However, a dialect of its is spoken to this day by the older inhabitants of the Salvadorean villages of Cacaopera and Lislique. Today the Indian languages of the area are somewhat interrelated, especially Matagalpa, Miskito, and Suma; Paya is an unrelated language.

101 The Miskito and small isolated bands of Suma Indians inhabit
361 the eastern side of Honduras and Nicaragua. They are found from the Río Tinto (lat. 15° 50′ N.) to Río Punta Gorda (Lat. 11° 30′ N.). The villages are located chiefly along the banks of the rivers as far up as the headwaters within the jungle proper. The Suma Indians are found primarily in the interior; they are somewhat uncommunicative, but cooperative. The Miskito are self-sustaining and at times derive ad- [146] ditional income from labor with frult companies, mining enterprises and rubber collecting agencies. Today they play an important part in the wild rubber collection program.

3: Pijoan D-5 (ca. 1945) 1946
SA15 Mosquito SA15

The Miskito Indians, numbering about 20,000, are a mixed race, since there has been much inter-marrying with negroes, creoles, Spaniards, Caribs, Sumu, Syrians and Chinese. About one-half of them have negroid physical characteristics, another third non-specific physical features and a few appear to be of pure Indian blood. There is, however, the same behavior pattern in all of them; they live together and there is no cultural differentiation on a physical basis. The culture and language are predominantly Indian, though some of them speak a little English or Spanish. The name "Mosquito Coast" may have been derived from the Indian tribe, the Miskito, or it may have been derived from the numerous mosquitoes found in the area.

The climate is humid and tropical. The average temperature along the seacoast rarely registers below 65° F. or above 90° F. Such pleasant temperatures are due to the trade winds that blow fairly steadily for about seven months of the year. From Bilwas Karma inland, the heat is intense, humid, and at times unbearable. At higher altitudes near the headwaters of the Coco (or Wanks) River, conditions are less severe. The whole area is well watered by many streams which empty into the larger rivers, which in turn drain into the Caribbean sea. In the jungle area these rivers are the only means of communication or transport. During flood times the rivers rise tremendously, often as much as thirty feet in a single night, the crumbling banks bringing down trees and everything along the edge. For this reason the villages are built high up on the banks and usually some distance from the stream. The average rainfall is reported to vary from 250 to 320 inches a year. There are two dry and two wet seasons each year, but these conditions are only relative, since it is always humid in the interior. The dryest seasons are from about March to May and from late August to early October. The remainder of the time it rains almost incessantly, sometimes all day. In the dry season light showers occur frequently. These geophysical conditions contribute significantly to the food-agricultural status of the people.

Geographically the area can be divided as follows: along the seashore it is sandy, with an inland belt of about twenty miles, consisting of swamps; then an area fifty to one hundred miles wide of intermittent savannah, and finally the thick, dense, somewhat impenetrable jungle which covers everything, even the mountains. Violent winds and hurricanes are not infrequent.

Besides the Miskito and the Sumu, two other Indian tribes, the Paya and the Rama, live in eastern Nicaragua. The population of these tribes is unknown, but it is considered to be about 500. Conzemius[1] reported in 1932 that they numbered about 700 but stated that they